

Message Text

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PAGE 01 BUCAR 06345 01 OF 02 300841Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05 ACDA-07 CU-04
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-----109833 300922Z /12

R 300655Z AUG 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5134
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
A/USMISSION USNATO 1403
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BUCHAREST 6345

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: RO PARM XH CSCE
SUBJECT: ROMANIAN PERSPECTIVES ON BALKAN ISSUES

1. SUMMARY: IN AUGUST 27-8 CONVERSATIONS WITH DEP. ASST.
SEC. LUERS AND EMBOFFS, ROMANIAN DEPFONMIN AND BALKAN EX-
PERT DISCUSSED BALKAN ISSUES AS FOLLOWS:
--IDEA OF PRE-BELGRADE BALKAN MEETING WITHOUT BULGARIA
(GIVEN BALGARIAN REFUSAL TO COMMENT ON ATHENS FOLLOW-UP CO-
OPERATION PROJECTS) HAD BEEN DISCUSSED AND DROPPED, AND
ROMANIANS NOW HOPE FOR SECOND BALKAN MEETING SHORTLY AFTER
BELGRADE;
--FAVORABLE REFERENCE TO BALKAN CONSULTATIONS IN BELGRADE
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PAGE 02 BUCAR 06345 01 OF 02 300841Z

DOCUMENTS WOULD BE USEFUL MOLD STIMULUS TO ALL PARTIES (READ
BULGARIANS AND SOVIETS) GIVEN CONSENSUS RULE AT BELGRADE;
--ROMANIANS WILL PROBE BULGARIANS ON BALKANS AT SEPTEMBER
CEAUSESCU-ZHIVKOV BILATERAL; THEY DISCERN "SECOND-LEVEL FORCES" IN
SOFIA WHO FAVOR GREATER INDEPENDENCE ON BALKAN ISSUES, AND APPEAR TO
BE URGING BULGARIANS TO CONSULT WITH NEIGHBORS AT SAME TIME THEY
CONSULT WITH SOVIETS;

--BALKAN NFZ CONCEPT, AS ROMANIANS CURRENTLY DEFINE IT, INVOLVES NON-USE RATHER MORE THAN NON-STATIONING, BUT IS IN ANY CASE ON BACK BURNER AND UNLIKELY TO GET MORE THAN ROUTINE ATTENTION AT UN SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT NEXT YEAR;
--ALTHOUGH ROMANIANS ARE POORLY INFORMED ABOUT ALBANIA, THEY FIND ALBANIANS LESS NEGATIVE ON BALKANS THAN ON CSCE AND EVEN INTERESTED WHEN ROMANIANS (LIKE OTHERS) KEEP THEM INFORMED OF PROCEEDINGS.

2. DURING AUGUST 27 LUNCHEON FOR DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY LUERS AT SNAGOV, ROMANIAN DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER VASILE GLIGA DISCUSSED CURRENT ROMANIANS PERCEPTIONS OF BALKAN ISSUES IN SOME DETAIL. FONMIN USA DESK FIRST SEC ION TAMIANU, WHO WORKED ON BALKAN AFFAIRS IN OLD MFA FIRST DEPARTMENT IN LATE 1960'S AND RETURNED IN 1977 FROM FIVE YEARS IN ANKARA, GAVE DCM ADDITIONAL DETAILS DURING BRASOV-BUCHAREST RIDE AUGUST 28. (TAMIANU ALSO RECOMMENDED FORMER FIRST DEPARTMENT COLLEAGUE GEORGE MARIN, NOW AMBASSADOR IN ANKARA, A BALKAN EXPERT WITH "AN OPEN HEAD," AS GOOD COLLEAGUE FOR AMBASSADOR SPIERS.)

3. GLIGA SAID SOME THOUGHT HAD BEEN GIVEN TO CONVENING A SECOND MEETING OF BALKAN STATES PARTICIPATING IN THE ATHENS CONSULTATIONS OF JANUARY 1976 BEFORE THE BELGRADE CSCE MEETING. WITH BULGARIA STILL REFUSING TO RESPOND WITH COMMENTS ON THE MORE THAN 100 IDEAS FOR COOPERATION SUBMITTED AT ATHENS, "OPINIONS" HAD EVEN BEEN PUT FORWARD THAT THE OTHER STATES
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PAGE 03 BUCAR 06345 01 OF 02 300841Z

SHOULD GO AHEAD WITHOUT BULGARIA. THE CONTRARY VIEW HAD PREVAILED, SAID GLIGA, AND IT WAS DECIDED TO WAIT "A WHILE LONGER." IN ANY CASE, NOW IT WAS OBVIOUSLY TOO LATE FOR A PRE-BELGRADE SESSION.

4. THERE WOULD BE A HIGH-LEVEL ROMANIAN-BULGARIAN BILATERAL VISIT IN SEPTEMBER, AND ROMANIA HOPED TO LEARN MORE ABOUT BULGARIAN THINKING CONCERNING THE BALKANS WHEN IT TOOK PLACE. BULGARIANS HESITATIONS ARE THE GREAT OBSTACLE TO FURTHER PROGRESS. SINCE BULGARIA HAS A STRONG NATURAL INTEREST, AS THE ONLY BALKAN STATE WHICH BORDERS ONLY ON OTHER BALKAN STATES, IN THE KINDS OF COOPERATION--ESSENTIALLY ECONOMIC--WHICH ARE BEING DISCUSSED, THESE HESITATIONS HAVE THEIR ROOTS ELSEWHERE, OUTSIDE THE AREA, AND ROMANIA KNOWS WHERE. OVER THE LONGER TERM, SAID GLIGA, HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR BULGARIA TO AVOID USEFUL PARTICIPATION, BUT FOR THE TIME BEING ITS RETICENCE IS A REAL PROBLEM.

5. TAMIANU TOLD THE DCM THAT THE ROMANIANS "HAVE KNOWLEDGE" OF "FORCES" INSIDE BULGARIA WHICH WOULD LIKE TO PARTICIPATE IN BALKAN CONSULTATIONS WITH GREATER INDEPENDENCE, BUT FIND IT DIFFICULT TO MOVE IN THIS DIRECTION AT PRESENT. THE

ROMANIANS REALIZE THE BULGARIANS MUST CONSULT WITH THE SOVIETS ON THEIR POSITIONS IN BALKAN MATTERS, AND ONLY WISH BULGARIA TO CONSULT ALSO WITH ITS BALKAN NEIGHBORS, ON AN INFORMAL BASIS, AT THE SAME TIME. HE SAID HE WAS RELATIVELY OPTIMISTIC THAT BULGARIA COULD BE BROUGHT ALONG IN THIS DIRECTION OVER THE LONG TERM. ASKED WHETHER THE "FORCES" HE HAD MENTIONED WERE FIRST, SECOND OR THIRD LEVEL, HE REPLIED "SECOND LEVEL."

6. ALTHOUGH TIMING PRECLUDED A PRE-BELGRADE BALKAN SESSION, GLIGA SAID, ROMANIA HOPED IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO CONVENE A SECOND MEETING ON THE ATHENS MODEL SHORTLY AFTER BELGRADE. ASKED WHAT HE THOUGHT MIGHT COME OUT OF BELGRADE IN THE WAY OF BALKAN-RELATED LANGUAGE, HE SAID THE BELGRADE DOCUMENTS SHOULD PROBABLY INCLUDE SOME FAVORABLE REFERENCE TO BALKAN CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 BUCHAR 06345 01 OF 02 300841Z

CONSULTATIONS. SUCH CONSULTATIONS ARE RELATIVELY NON-CONTROVERSIAL; AT THE SAME TIME, SINCE BELGRADE OPERATES BY CONSENSUS A FAVORABLE REFERENCE WOULD CONSTITUTE A MILD FORM OF COMMITMENT TO FURTHER MOVEMENT WHICH COULD BE USEFUL.

7. ASKED ABOUT CURRENT ROMANIAN INTERESTS IN A BALKAN NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE, GLIGA GAVE BRIEF HISTORICAL SYNOPSIS AND AFFIRMED CONTINUING INTEREST IN COMMITMENTS TO EXCLUDE AREA FROM INVOLVEMENT IN NUCLEAR CONFLICT. ASKED WHETHER ROMANIA HAD IN MIND NON-USE OR NON-STATIONING, GLIGA REPLIED MILDLY THAT ONLY THOSE WHO HAD THESE WEAPONS KNEW THEY HAD THEM--ROMANIA KNEW IT DID NOT--BUT THAT EVERYONE COULD UNDERTAKE COM-

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PAGE 01 BUCHAR 06345 02 OF 02 300910Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-07 L-03
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R 300655Z AUG 77
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INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
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AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
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USMISSION GENEVA
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AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW POUCH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BUCHAREST 6345

MITMENTS NOT TO USE THEM. BUT AT PRESENT, HE STRESSED, ROMANIAN INTEREST IS VERY MUCH FOR THE LONG TERM, BECAUSE OBVIOUSLY A MEASURE OF THIS TYPE WOULD ONLY HAVE A CHANCE IN AN ATMOSPHERE FAR BETTER THAN THE PRESENT ONE. ASKED WHETHER HE EXPECTED THE MATTER TO BE RAISED AT NEXT YEAR'S UN SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT, HE REPLIED THAT THE SESSION WOULD NORMALLY CATALOGUE POSSIBILITIES OF PROGRESS IN THE DISARMAMENT FIELD, AND THAT BALKAN NFZ WOULD PROBABLY BE RAISED IN THIS CONTEXT, BUT HE DID NOT FORESEE REAL NEGOTIATIONS ON THE TOPIC.

8. TURNING TO THE SUBSTANCE OF BALKAN ISSUES, GLIGA SAID THERE WAS NO COUNTRY IN THE BALKANS OR EUROPE FOR THAT MATTER WHICH
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PAGE 02 BUCHAR 06345 02 OF 02 300910Z

HAD NOT INHERITED KNOTTY PROBLEMS WITH ITS NEIGHBORS FROM PAST HISTORY, AND THAT MACEDONIA IS THE WORST. IN GENERAL, ROMANIAN VIEW IS THAT THERE IS ONLY ONE SOLUTION TO THESE ISSUES: INTEGRAL RESPECT BY ALL PARTIES FOR THE TERRITORIAL STATUSQUO WHICH EMERGED FROM THE SECOND WORLD WAR, AND SINCERE EFFORTS TO RESOLVE PROBLEMS THROUGH PEACEFUL DISCUSSION. HERE, OF COURSE, THERE IS A NATURAL LINK BETWEEN CSCE PRINCIPLES AND BALKAN ISSUES, AND THIS IS ANOTHER REASON WHY ROMANIA FAVORS RECOGNITION OF THIS TIE.

9. ASKED ABOUT ALBANIA, GLIGA SAID THE ROMANIAN EMBASSY IN TIRANA KNEW LITTLE BEYOND WHAT IS PRINTED IN ZERI I POPULLIT. NEVERTHELESS, THERE HAD BEEN A CLEAR DISTINCTION BETWEEN ALBANIAN RESPONSES TO CSCE AND TO THE BALKAN MEETING IN ATHENS. THE ALBANIANS HAD SIMPLY REFUSED TO ATTEND CSCE, ON GROUND THAT IT WAS A TRICK OF THE TWO GREAT POWERS, BUT IN TURNING DOWN THE INVITATION TO ATHENS THEY HAD NOT ATTACKED THE CONCEPT OR EXPRESSED DISINTEREST BUT JUST SAID THEY WOULD NOT PARTICIPATE. OTHER PARTICIPATING STATES INCLUDING ROMANIA MADE EFFORTS TO KEEP THE ALBANIANS OFFICIALLY INFORMED OF

PROCEEDINGS, AND WITH THE ROMANIANS AT LEAST THEY HAD SHOWN
DISTINCT INTEREST.

10. COMMENT: ABOVE IS SUBMITTED MAINLY AS GRIST FOR WASHING-
TON ANALYTICAL MILL, BUT WE ARE STRUCK BY WHAT APPEARS TO BE
BOTH PRUDENCE AND PERSISTENCE OF ROMANIAN APPROACH. GLIGA
WAS CAREFUL TO MAKE CLEAR THAT ROMANIANS INTEND TO STICK, IN
NEAR TERM AT LEAST, TO NON-MILITARY, NON-POLITICAL SUBJECT
MATTER FOR BALKAN COOPERATION; NOTABLY, ROMANIAN ESPOUSAL OF
BALKAN NFZ CONCEPT SEEMS LIKELY TO BE ROUTINE FOR FORESEEABLE
FUTURE, EVEN AT OPPORTUNITY LIKE UNSSD. AS SAME TIME, AS WE
READ IT, ROMANIA IS WEDDED AS POLICY MATTER TO PUSHING
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PAGE 03 BUCAR 06345 02 OF 02 300910Z

BALKAN COOPERATION ALONG AT EVERY REALISTIC OPPORTUNITY, AND
TO MAKING THE SHOE FIT EVEN WHERE IT PINCHES MOST, ON THE
BULGARIAN FOOT. WHETHER BILATERAL EFFORTS AT NEXT MONTH'S
SUMMIT MEETING WITHBULGARIANS WILL RESULT IN AID AND SUCCOR
FOR "SECOND-LEVEL FORCES" FAVORING GREATER INDEPENDENCE ON
BALKAN ISSUES WHOM ROMANIANS CLAIM TO DISCERN IN SOFIA IS OB-
VIOUSLY ANOTHER MATTER. EMBASSY SOFIA MAY WISH TO COMMENT ON
PROSPECTS.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: BALKANS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, PLANNING MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 30-Aug-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977BUCHAR06345
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770312-1236
Format: TEL
From: BUCHAREST
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
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Line Count: 251
Litigation Code IDs:
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Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
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Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 09-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1397081
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ROMANIAN PERSPECTIVES ON BALKAN ISSUES
TAGS: PARM, RO, XH, CSCE
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/7ea58c4e-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009